

A
DEFENCE

O F T H E

COURAGE, HONOUR,
and LOYALTY

O F T H E

Irish Nation,

IN ANSWER to the scandalous Reflections
of the *FREE BRITON* and others.

IN A LETTER to that AUTHOR,

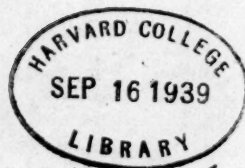
By *CHARLES FORMAN*, Esq;

L O N D O N :

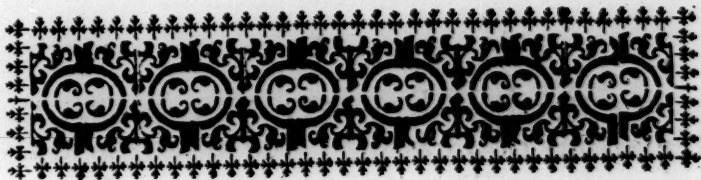
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TO THE
FREE BRITON.

S I R,

Paris, Apr. 14. 1731.

WERE I acquainted either with your Person or Character, I should know how to treat you in the Course of this Letter; but as I am entirely ignorant of both, I chuse to confine my self within the Bounds of good Manners, rather than give the World Occasion to censure those Liberties in me, which I believe no Man of Sense or Breeding will approve in you.

It is almost impossible for an Author who writes upon nothing but publick Affairs, and openly professes himself an Enemy to the Politicks in the *Craftsman*, not to have seen my Letter to Sir *Robert Sutton*, printed at *London* in the Beginning of the Year 1728, relating to the *Irish* Troops in the Service of *France* and *Spain*. As I presume then that you are no Stranger to what I publish'd

concerning their Bravery, you know the Obligations of Honour I lye under to take Notice of your Paper of the 12th of *November* last, and to tell you in the Face of your Country, that if the Facts I related in that Letter were false, it would have been as much to your Purpose, as I am sure it was suitable to your Inclination, to shew that they were so; since your Intention was not only to brand those Troops, but the whole *Irish* Nation in general with the infamous Character of Cowardice. But, instead of taking such a Method; instead of detecting me of Partiality, Design, or Ignorance, as you ought to have done, and of all which I shall endeavour to convict you in your Paper now lying before, you throw out your Scandal and Defamation with as great an Assurance, and as little Dread of Reproof, as if no such Piece had ever appear'd in the World. Let me ask you then, Sir, whoever you are, whether so ungentleman-like a Proceeding, has not, to use your own Words, an Air of Disingenuity, which does not consist with a Lover of Truth, and a Friend to the publick Interest? Whether it has not something in it that interferes with the Duty you owe to *Great Britain*? Whether it has not even all the Indications of ill Nature and ill Breeding in it, which a Man of Temper could wish to meet with in an Antagonist with whom he is forced into a publick

publick Dispute? For my Part, I am a little surprized, that some resenting *Irishman*, or rather some generous *English*, *Scotch*, or *Welchman*, has not long before this time given you to understand, that National Reflections deserve due Correction, and never ought to pass with Impunity; that Gentlemen and Men of Honour never make use of them; and that they are, in every respect, as indecent and offensive to Civil Society, as dishonourable and dangerous to that Government, which either partially tolerates, or unjustly encourages them.

It has ever been the Practice of crafty Politicians, to disunite us, by fomenting Feuds, and propagating national Animosities between *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Those able Ministers, *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, made use of this Piece of State-Craft with great Dexterity and Success; a Success! which will remain written in the Annals of *Britain*, in bloody Characters, to the End of Time: But, I think, Mr. *Walsingham* has, in one single Sheet of Paper, pitched the Bar beyond any thing I have yet met with in the most voluminous, or the most inveterate Writer. However, I have Charity enough to believe that you over-shot yourself, and did not intend to be altogether so malicious when you set out, as you prove to be in the Course of your Journey. Slander and Calumny, it seems, are most bewitching Subjects

jects for a narrow Mind to exercise its Faculties upon; they insensibly lead those Men into Impertinencies and Absurdities, who apply their Studies, and bend their Talents that Way. Besides, I admit you was in Haste to answer the *Craftsman*. How could you possibly then have Time to consider, that, by defaming *Ireland*, you obliquely threw a most barbarous Reflection upon that brave old Nation, distinguish'd by the Name of *Scots*, before the Union? the *Scots* being descended from the *Irish*, or the *Irish* from them, no great Matter which; they are both but the same People, according to the best Historians.

Neither indeed are the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Wales* themselves entirely free from the Rebounds of your Reflections: Like *Drawcansir*, in the *Rehearsal*, you neither spare Friends nor Foes. The frequent Intermarriages between the ancient and noble Families of the four Nations have so mixed their Blood, that as there are but very few *Irishmen* at present, of any Rank or Figure in their Country, but what have *English* and *Scotch* Blood in their Veins, and Relations in *Britain*; so there as few ancient *British* Families, whose Ancestors have not, some time or other, by the female Line, been *Irish*. Even the greatest Antiquity the August House of *Hanover* it self can boast, is deduced from the Royal Stem
of

of *Ireland*, some Hundreds of Years before the coming of our Saviour, or we must cry down all Chronology till a few Centuries ago, which I don't think either just or advisable to do. These are things which I am sensible did not occur to you in the Rage and Fury of your Imagination, of which you have given us so much Foam and Froth; but I look upon them not altogether unworthy the Attention of *Britons*, as being sufficient to convince them, that no general Reflection can be thrown upon the *Irish*, in which they will not find the Honour of their own Families to be in some Degree or other injured, and the Affront to extend to *Great Britain*, as well as to *Ireland*.

Wherefore, as meanly as you think of the *Irish* Troops abroad, and as unfairly as you have represented their Behaviour in Arms, I shall, for once, undertake their Defence, and in this Quarrel, which I take to be, in some measure, a *British*, as well as an *Irish* one, I shall venture to measure a Pen with a Man who has dared to declare War against a whole Kingdom. *In magnis voluisse sat est.* This Subject, I confess, may seem a little unpopular and ill-tim'd, in the Opinion of some Men, but I do not write for the Mob: I address my self to none but Gentlemen, or, at least, to none but Men of Candour and Good-nature, and not to the byass'd or the mercenary Part of the Town. I cannot suspect,

suspect, that any gallant, worthy *Briton*, will either turn pale, or grow splenetick at any Praises justly bestow'd upon an *Irishman*, or think the worse of his Bravery, because his Fellow-subject has Courage. K. *William* heard of the Business of *Cremona* a few Days before his Death; and the only alleviating Circumstance the generous Hero found in that unfortunate Affair, was the gallant Behaviour of the *Irish*; because, tho' they were his Enemies, they were nevertheless his Subjects, and the Glory they acquired by their Courage in that Action, on which the Fate of *France* and *Spain* depended, receiv'd still a greater Lustre by the Honour his Majesty thought it did to his *British* Dominions. That Great Prince knew that the *Irish* had an Aversion to him; he had nevertheless an Esteem and Friendship for them: He knew them better than you do, if you are really in earnest in what you say, and was sensible that their Aversion did not proceed from any Dislike to his Person, but a Disapprobation of his Title to the Crown, which, by the unhappy Turn of their Education and Principles, they look'd upon to be ill grounded and unjust. But whatever the Troops abroad may be, the present *Irish* at Home have given no Symptoms of Dissatisfaction at the Accession of the August House of *Hanover* to the Crown of *Ireland*: By all that I could ever hear, they have behaved themselves like

like dutiful Subjects, and therefore I think they have a Right to be treated as such, instead of being abused and insulted in so outrageous a manner, as I shall shew you have done before you and I part.

But, to return to the *Irish* Regiments in *France*. Whatever I have said to their Advantage in my Letter to Sir *Robert Sutton*, I assure you I could have added a great deal more in their Favour, than I was inclined to do at that time, or perhaps do with Pleasure at present: But since the Injustice of your Epithets, and the Disingenuity of your Assertions call for a Supplement to the Commendation I then gave them, I shall endeavour to convince you and all *Britain*, how much you have been mistaken in almost every thing you have advanced to their Prejudice. In doing so, I shall take Care not to follow an Example lately set me in a contrary Strain. I present myself upon the Theatre of *Great Britain* with too much Awe of my Audience, and too great Love for my Countrymen, to attempt in the least at imposing upon them. I thank God, I never published any thing yet with so wicked and so villainous a Design; and tho' I may be as liable to receive false Information as other Men, which however I hardly believe to be the Case at present, yet I shall take Care not to advance any thing contrary to my own Judgment, or my own Belief

lief of the Matter. This is all I think necessary to say by way of Preface ; and now, Sir, I am ready to join Issue with you upon the Subject of your Paper.

To recommend yourself to your Readers, and give them, no doubt, a great Idea of your Integrity, and Knowledge of your Subject, you introduce it with a very gross Error, when you tell us, in speaking of the Establishment of the *Irish* Regiments in *France*, that their Companies contain an Hundred Men (*consist* of was the Phrase, when I had the Honour to serve in the War Office of *Great Britain*) and therefore they are doubly Officer'd ; as to their being trebly Officer'd, you say it is new, and was never yet heard of. Mr. *Walsingham*, you had certainly Opportunities of being better informed ; and yet, if I prove, that you either know but very little of the Matter, or else have wilfully imposed upon your Readers, you cannot blame them, if they look upon you for the future, to be far from infallible, or too scrupulously sincere in other respects. I grant, that the *Irish* consisted of a Hundred Men a Company before the Peace of *Ryswick* ; from That to the Peace of *Rastadt*, they were but Fifty Men a Company ; they were then reformed to Forty Men a Company, as they remain at present, and Fifteen Companies to a Battalion. There is, I think then, some small Difference between Forty and
an

an Hundred Men a Company: Besides, if you had remember'd, that there are also Brigades of *Irish* Officers dispersed in several Garrisons on the Frontiers, you would have found that the Regiments of that Nation in *France* can be more than trebly Officer'd upon Occasion; and whenever you please to call upon me to do so, I can shew you from one of your own Favourite Authors, whom I decline naming at present, out of Respect to him, that the Way of Treble-Officering is not altogether so new and unheard of, as you affect to make it. It is likewise well known, that the *Irish* Regiments are more than doubly Officer'd without the Brigades.

As to their Atchievements and Exploits in the late Wars, which you say are so mightily exaggerated, and of which you are so very desirous of being informed, for your better Satisfaction, I refer you for Part of them, to my before-mentioned Letter to Sir *Robert*; but before I regale you with more, I must take Notice of another small Mistake of yours, in telling us, that all you can say to their Advantage is, that *Louis* the XIVth would never trust them in *Flanders*. 'Tis, you peremptorily add, a Fact of the greatest Notoriety. I can't tell who is your Intelligencer, or from what Hand you had your Information; but I shall venture to assert, that never was a more notorious, or

more bare-fac'd Untruth offered to be impos'd upon *Britons*. There are even several Officers still living in His Majesty K. *George* the Second's Service, who can contradict you. *Louis XIV.* not only trusted them in *Flanders*, but also in *Alsace*, *Italy*, *Piedmont*, *Catalonia*, and in every Place where the War was hottest. Wherever they serv'd, whether they had Courage or not, they always had the good Fortune to distinguish themselves: And it may be said to their eternal Honour, that from the Time they enter'd into the Service of *France*, to this Hour, they have never made the least false Step, or have had the least Blot in their Scutcheon. Without drawing unfair Conclusions from uncertain Premisses, or ungenerously endeavouring to stain the Reputation of any Country by odious Reflections, because it has sometimes met with unfortunate Events, and one Time has not been as favourable to it as another, we may say the *Danes*, the *Brandenburghers*, the *Bavarians*, the *Hanoverians*, the *Dutch*, and several other gallant and warlike Nations, have sometimes been obliged to shew their Backs to the *French*; but I will defy the most malicious and prejudiced Man to name the Place where the *Irish* misbehaved themselves either at Home or Abroad, since they became disciplined Men. Had they done so in the *French* Service, *Europe* would have known it with a Witness; for, believe me,

me, *France* is not a Country for Cowards to gain Renown in. It is not apt to forget how gallantly *Sarsfield*, Earl of *Lucan*, and the *Irish*, behaved at *Landen*, where that Officer received his Death-Wound, but gained as much Honour by his Generosity and Humanity to the *English* in that fatal Battle, as by his Bravery and Conduct in the Field.

I shall give you other Proofs immediately, that the *Irish* were trusted in *Flanders*; but I must tell you first, that in the Siege of *Barcelona*, in the Year 1697, the Great *Vendosme* was so charmed with their Courage, and so amazed at the Intrepidity of their Behaviour, that the particular Esteem and Notice with which he distinguish'd them, even to the Day of his Death, is yet very well remember'd in *France*. If what I say here is not literally true, there are *Frenchmen* enough still living to contradict me. Nor was the Behaviour of *Clare's* Regiment commanded by the Lord *Clare* in Person, less remarkable at *Blenheim*, where they cut a *Dutch*, or *German* Regiment to Pieces, consisting of 1500 Men, and commanded by Colonel *Goore*. The Colonel himself, with a few of his Officers, and about Sixty Men, were all that escaped the Fury of those infamous Cowards, as you most politely term them. The melancholly, dejected *Goore*, went the next Morning to the Duke of
Marl-

Marlborough's Levee, where, as he was giving his Grace an Account of the Action, an *English* Colonel (perhaps he might have been a Relation of yours) says pertly to him, I wish I had been in your Place: I wish with all my Heart you had, replies *Goore* very gravely to him, I should have had a very good Regiment to Day, and you would have been without one. The Duke smiled, and every body applauded the Justness of the Repartee. I assure you, Mr. *Walsingham*, that if every Regiment in the *French* Army had behaved that Day like the *Irish*, *England*, instead of a trifling Expence in building a House to preserve the Memory of so great a Victory as the Duke of *Marlborough* gained at *Blenheim*, would have found herself incumber'd with a fugitive Emperor, and a numerous Imperial Family, which she must, at a heavy Charge, have been oblig'd to maintain, if a Visit from the *Chevalier* had not brought a worse Remedy to prevent it. But now for another Trip into *Flanders*, because I find that Place to be your great Field of Battle.

At *Ramillies*, we see *Clare's* Regiment shining with Trophies, and cover'd with Laurels again, even in the midst of a discomfited routed Army. They had to do with a Regiment which I assure you was not either a *Dutch* or a *German* one, and their Courage precipitated them so far in Pursuit
of

of their Enemy, that they found themselves engaged at last in the Throng of our Army, where they braved their Fate with incredible Resolution, till an *Italian* Regiment, in the Service of *France*, and a Regiment vulgarly called the *Cravats*, generously pushed up to their Relief, and as bravely favour'd their Retreat. I could be much more particular in relating this Action, but some Reasons oblige me, in Prudence, to say no more of it. However, if you are desirous to know what Regiment it was they engaged that Day, the Colours in the Cloister of the *Irish* Nuns at *Ipres*, which I thought had been taken by another *Irish* Regiment, will satisfy your Curiosity. The brave Lord *Clare* himself, who was noted in the *French* Army for his Intrepidity in Action, was mortally wounded in this Battle, and died a few Days after in *Brussels*; which is another Proof that the *Irish* were in *Flanders*. His Son has now the same Regiment; and when I tell you that he gives his Friends all the Expectations imaginable of seeing him equal, if not surpass his Father, it is as much as can be said of any Man. This young Lord has been more than once in *England*, to visit his Relation the Earl of *Thomond*: You may possibly have seen him there; at least, those who have, will readily allow that I do him no more than Justice.

In

In the Battle of *Blaregnies*, or *Malplaquet*, were *Lee's*, *O Brian's* (which was *Clare's*, and is now *Clare's* again) *Dorrington's* (now *Roth's*) called the *Royal Irish*, *Galmoy's* and *O Donnel's* Regiments of Foot, and also *Nugent's* Regiment of Horse, of whose Bravery against the *Germans* at *Spireback*, I have given an Account in my Letter to Sir *Robert*. It is well known besides, that the Town of *Aire* has been trusted by *Louis* the XIVth to *Clare's* Regiment, without any other Regiment in Garrison with it. How can you say then, that the *French* King would never trust the *Irish* in *Flanders*? How can you modestly or reasonably desire any Man to give Credit to what you tell him for the future?

As I grow quite tired with relating Facts known to so many Thousands of living Witnesses, and indeed to almost every body but the candid, undesigning, good-natur'd *Free Briton*, I shall not enter into any particular Detail of the Behaviour of the *Irish* at *Cremona*, because it has been many Years in Print, in more Forms than one. But here I am forc'd to have Charity for you again, and suppose that you never saw or heard any thing of it; for certainly if you had, a Man of so scrupulous an Integrity would not have fail'd to take Notice of it. Wherefore, to set you right in that Affair, and make you acquainted in Miniature with one
of

of the greatest Atchievements that ever was performed by mortal Men; I must recommend to your Perusal the *Lettres Historiques Mois de Mars* 1702, pag. 254. where you will find what a generous *Frenchman* says of it: You will find that the *Irish* performed there the most important Piece of Service for *Louis* the XIVth, that, perhaps, any King of *France* ever received from so small a Body of Men, since the Foundation of that Monarchy. In reading that little Piece, tho' the Author has omitted several material Circumstances, or rather given but an imperfect Sketch of their Actions, there you will meet with three Things, which I am afraid will not fail to mortify you. 1. That the only two *Irish* Regiments that were in the Town, viz. *Dillon's* and *Burk's*, the former still in *France*, and the other in *Spain*, were the first to signalize themselves on that important Day. 2. That those two Regiments not only repulsed the *Cuirassiers* that were sent, with Orders to put them all to the Sword, and killed their Leaders; but also, in another Action, some Hours after, attacked the gross Body of the *Cuirassiers* and their Foot together; defeated them, drove them from the Ramparts they were Masters of, and took their Kettle-Drums: I suppose, that a Gentleman of your universal Reading and Knowledge, one so well acquainted with *Livy*, *Quintus*
C *Curtius*,

Curtius, and his Supplementer, *Freinshemius*, as likewise with the Military Discipline of the Ancients, is not quite so great a Stranger to the Moderns, as to need being told, that the Cuirassiers are Cavalry with Back and Breast-Plates, Steel Caps, &c. and are consequently Men of Strength and Stature, in Proportion, mounted upon Horses equal in Size and Force to the Weight they carry, and the Service for which they are designed. 3. That it was an *Irish* Officer, with Two and Twenty of his Countrymen, that first defended the *Po-Gate*, upon the Possession of which, the Success of the whole Affair depended: In doing so, he prevented the Conjunction of Prince *Vaudemont* with the Prince of *Savoy*, defeated one of the greatest and best formed Enterprizes that ever was undertaken; disappointed that Child of Fortune, the mighty *Eugene* himself, and baffled the whole *German* Army. The same Piece will also shew you the Importance of the *Po-Gate*, which the Prince caused to be so vigorously, and so often attack'd, and for want of which, he could not take *Cremona*, tho' he had made himself Master of Three Gates, the Town-House, the great Church, and several other Places of Consequence, before the Garrison took the Alarm.

This Action of the *Irish*, by an impartial Way of reasoning, saved the whole *French* Army

Army in *Italy*; the Destruction of which, according to the Account it self, as well as the Opinion of all Military Men, must have been the infallible Consequence of the Loss of *Cremona*. It was also thought, in *England*, to have so much Influence over the Affairs of *Europe*, as they stood at that Time, that, as I have been informed, a Member of the House of Commons, upon the Arrival of the News, said, in Parliament, that those Two Regiments had done more Mischief to the high Allies, than all the *Irish* abroad could have done, had they been kept at home, and left in the entire Possession of their Estates. So little did your Doctrine prevail in those Days. This had something of the same Spirit in it with what a noble *Spaniard* said once in *Paris*, That were it not for the great Actions of the *Irish*, the *Chevalier*, to whom he gave another Title, would be quite forgot in *Europe*.

Sir, I am sensible, that this is but an unfavoury sort of Entertainment for you, but I shall endeavour to change the Bill of Fare immediately, and torment you no further with the Behaviour of the *Irish* abroad: Had they done nothing else, this one Action would alone be sufficient to eternize them. The Generals also of that Nation have been as remarkable for their Conduct, as the Troops for their Bravery. I have formerly mentioned Sir *Andrew Lee*,

Lieutenant General and Grand Croix of the Order of St. *Louis*, Lieutenant General *Dillon*, Lieutenant General *Roth*, and Major General *Nugent* : I might also have nam'd the Lord *Galmoy*, Brigadier O *Donnel*, with several more, and among them, that brave old Soldier Major General *Morrough O Brian*, who has left a Son behind him, that joins all the Abilities of the Statesman, with the Politeness of the Courtier, to the martial Spirit of his Father. The *British* Ministry cannot but be acquainted with the Character he bears here.

As to the *Irish* in *Spain*, I have not been altogether so exactly informed of their Actions; wherefore I don't venture to say more of them than that they consist, at present, of Eight Regiments, at least, and are in as great esteem there, upon Account of their eminent Services to that Crown, especially in the late War of *Sicily*, as their Countrymen are in *France* : That Sir *Patrick Lawles*, formerly Ambassador from his Catholick Majesty to the most Christian King, Lieutenant General and Governour of *Majorca*, Lieutenant General *Crafton*, Count *Mahony*, and several other Officers of that Nation, in *Spain*, would think themselves highly injured, to be thought, in any Respect, relating to Bravery, inferior to those I have already named. During a great Part of the late War in *Spain*, the *Gazettes* took

took frequent Notice of the Actions of a young Cavalier, *Don de Cardenas*, one of the great Scourges of the *Miquelets*: Now I must tell you, that he was an *Irishman*, Son to Alderman *Gardiner*, of *Dublin*, but the *Spaniards* changed his Name to *Cardenas*, for the Ease of pronouncing it.

Portugal has also had several *Irishmen* of Merit in her Service, the last War, as Major General *Bogan*, and others.

In *Germany* too they have reaped their Share of Honour, and been advanced to the highest Posts; of which Count *Taaf*, Count *Brown*, General *O'Dwyer*, Governor of *Belgrade*, General *Walsh*, corruptly called *Wallis*, in the *Gazettes*, Count *O'Neil*, Colonel *Nealan*, with many more, in the Imperial Service, is an undeniable Proof. Is it not surprizing, that such pusillanimous People, as you call them, should be so much taken Notice of, and esteemed, even among the most warlike Nations in *Europe*? Is it not strange to see them, upon several Occasions, not only commanding *Frenchmen*, *Spaniards*, and *Germans*, but even *Englishmen* too, of the greatest Bravery and Distinction, as I shall shew in its proper Place.

I hope, Mr. *Walsingham*, that I have now given *Britons* a quite different Idea of the *Irish* abroad, from what you endeavoured to palm upon them; let us then look a little into their Behaviour at home; In doing which,

which, I fear I shall rather put you to the Torture, than any way contribute to your Satisfaction; because I shall be obliged to take more Freedom with some of your Assertions than may, perhaps, be agreeable to you, or consistent with the Desire I suppose you have to pass in the World for an honest Man.

Not satisfied with degrading the whole *Irish* Nation, even to the lowest Degree of Paltrony, and forgetting *Benburb* and the *Black-water*, in the North of *Ireland*, you entertain us with this remarkable Paragraph, in which, I make bold to tell you, there is not one Word of Truth, except in the last Line or Two. “ Whatever might produce
 “ this Pusillanimity it is certain (*you say*)
 “ it always follow’d them at home, and
 “ why should we suspect those Troops of
 “ Bravery, at this Time, who have been
 “ infamous for Cowardice, whenever they
 “ fought against *Englishmen*? Infomuch,
 “ that it is universally granted, that King
 “ *James* the Second could not have been
 “ so easily drove out of *Ireland*, if he had
 “ not depended too much upon the Courage
 “ of the Natives, and refused those *French*
 “ Troops which his Brother of *France* would
 “ have sent to his Assistance. It was to
 “ this that our Victory was so easy at the
 “ *Boyne*: There not being, at that Time,
 “ 1800 *French* Troops in *K. James’s* Army.
 “ But

“ But when that Prince was convinced of
 “ his Error, and found there was no De-
 “ pendence upon the Courage of an *entire*
 “ and *unmixed* Body of *Irish*, by the sending
 “ over Ten Thousand *Frenchmen*, under
 “ the Command of Mr. *St. Ruth*, He
 “ made so gallant an Opposition to the
 “ *English* Army, at the Battle of *Aghrim*,
 “ that dispassionate Men have thought, we
 “ owed our Victory only to the accidental
 “ Death of that General.

This, I must confess, is lustily asserted ;
 but, if you speak to the best of your Know-
 ledge and Judgment, I pity your Ignorance ;
 you are an Antagonist so much below con-
 tending with, that you are even too mean
 for Notice. If you know better, and yet
 dare venture to impose this Heap of ill-
 connected Falshoods upon your Country,
 you are lost to all Sense of Shame or Ho-
 nesty. This Reproof may sound harsh, but
 I hope to shew the Justice of it, and for
 that Reason I shall come to a closer En-
 gagement with you, than I have done hither-
 to : Let us then, impartially, enquire into
 the Circumstances of the Battles of the *Boyne*
 and *Aghrim*, and also of the two Sieges of
Limerick, and then let *Britons* decide the
 Contest between us.

King *James's* Army at the *Boyne* consisted
 of about 29000 Men, according to the
 Muster Rolls, but, if we consider the many
 Acci-

Accidents that hourly happen in an Army, as Sickness, Death, Desertion, &c. to lessen the Number, we shall hardly find them 27000 Effectives; if there were so many, the Captains and Commissaries were very honest Men. As to the Condition of those Troops, most of them were new raised, raw, and undisciplined Men, taken from the Plow-Tail or the Sheep-Fold; neither was a Quarter Part of them well armed or cloathed. Some had Scythes fastened to the end of long Poles; a dreadful Weapon in Appearance, but of no Manner of Use in War, especially against Fire-Arms; some had old rusty Match-Locks; others had rotten Pikes or Halberds that had been used in your admired *Oliver's* Days; very few had Carbines, Fuzees, or good Muskets: So that King *James*, far from depending upon them, as you say, did not think fit to stay to see the Issue; but took Fifteen Hundred of the best of his Horse, with *Sarsfield* at the Head of them, to escorte him to *Dublin*, three Hours before the Battle began. If you can contradict this, I am sure you are obliged in Honour to do so, after what you have said.

On the other Side, King *William* had Thirty Five Thousand Men, some say, a great many more, of as fine Troops, and as well disciplined, as were that Day under the Sun; but you must not suppose, that they

they were all *English*. There were *Danes*, *Brandenbures* and *Dutch*, all veteran Troops, and the very Flower of the Countries they came from : There was also a good Number of *French* Refugees, who had left their Country, upon Account of Religion, and whose Courages were whetted with Resentment. This Diversity of Nations was a great Advantage to that Army, by the generous Emulation it bred among the Foreigners, not only to rival the *English* in Bravery, but also to outdo one another, for the Honour of their Country. To this we may add another Advantage, they had King *William* to lead them. The Defeat of the *Irish* cannot then, without manifest Injustice and Partiality, be attributed to their want of Courage ; since it is evident, it was owing to nothing so much as to their want of Experience, to their want of Arms, and to the Infatuation of King *James* himself. He was advised to throw up a Trench on the Banks of the *Boyne*, where the River was fordable, to break down the Bridge, about a Mile from his Camp, and to stay with his Army. Had he done so, King *William* must have been obliged to march back, in three or four Days, to the North, for Subsistence. But it is remarkable, that King *James*, either in Prosperity or Adversity, hardly ever took one right Step, from the Time he mounted the
D Throne,

Throne, until he entirely lost it. These Words may, perhaps, offend you; but pray suspend your Anger until I tell you, that I don't mean to throw any Slur upon the Courage of that unhappy Prince, who was the finest Gentleman, and the truest Friend that the Age produced; he was also a Man of excellent Sense, but intoxicated with a Notion, that the *English* would call him home again, and that very Notion made him commit a Multitude of Errors. The great *Turenne's* Character of him puts his Courage above the Power of Detraction; he had, besides, all the other Qualities and Vertues required in a Prince and a Hero; but his honest, sincere Heart left him open to the Artifices of his Enemies; and his Credulity and Good-Nature made him the Property of those whom he trusted; but I assure you, they were not the *Irish*, who can no more be justly called Cowards, for losing the Battle of the *Boyne*, than the Confederate Army can be branded with Cowardice, for being defeated at *Landen*: One was as much a Rout in the Close of the Action as the other; and the latter attended with some Circumstances of Disgrace, on the Side of the Confederates, which the *Irish* are entirely free from. Here, Sir, I beg leave to make a little Digression.

The *Romans*, with an Handful of Men, in Comparison of the *Britons*, conquered the
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the greatest Part of the Island of *Britain*, and kept Possession of it Four Hundred Years. Most of what the *Romans* possessed fell afterwards to the Share of the *Saxons*. The *Irish*, who were called *Scots* until the Tenth Century, likewise conquered *North Britain*, or *Albany*, to which they gave the Name of *Scotland*, and destroyed the *Pictish* Kingdom: Yet no Author ever yet called either the *Britons* or the *Picts* Cowards, because they lost their Country. The *English* were subdued by the *Danes*, and groaned under the Yoak of Three successive *Danish* Kings. They had hardly recover'd their Liberty, when the Duke of *Normandy* also, with an Army much inferior to King *Harold's* in Number, conquered all *England* in one Day, and kept it in Bondage until he dyed. Would it be fair, nevertheless, in a *Dane* or a *Norman*, to say, from these Events, that the *English* wanted Courage, or that they were infamous for Cowardice, whenever they fought against those Nations? Such a Proceeding in them would be to make a Satire upon themselves; since there cannot possibly be any Honour acquired in overcoming a Coward. For this Reason you ought to ask Pardon of your Countrymen, for the Affront you have given them, in telling the World, that it was with a Parcel of meer Paltrones, divided among themselves, and parcell'd out into several

petty Principalities, that the *English* were struggling and fighting Five Hundred Years before they could become entire Masters of *Ireland*. But I let that pass, because Passion and Spleen got the better of your Judgment, and tumbled you headlong into a Blunder from which a little Good-Nature, and the least Share imaginable of common Sense, would have saved you. It is yet within our Memory, that Fourscore Thousand *Muscovites*, with their Czar in Person, ran from Eight Thousand *Swedes*, led by the late King of *Sweden*; and that, a few Years after, the same Czar, with his *Muscovites*, when disciplined, and used to Fire, beat his *Swedish* Majesty, at the Head of an Army, which, when in the Empire, had put the Grand Alliance itself into a Consternation. Here was a strange Turn of Fortune; a gallant, and, for a long Time, victorious King, esteem'd the Hero of the Age, forc'd, at last, to fly to the *Turk*, for Shelter, from an Enemy whom he had always despised, as much as you would have *Englishmen* despise the *Irish* at present. The *Muscovites* are now become as good Troops as any in *Christendom*, and have shewn, upon several Occasions since, that the want of Discipline and Experience, was no more a Proof of any Deficiency of Courage in them at *Narva*, than the Defeat of a raw, untrained, ill-paid Army at the *Boyne*, is a Demonstration of

of the want of natural Bravery in the *Irish*.

To return to that Battle from which I have made a longer Digression than I thought to do; the *French* were above One Thousand Eight Hundred, tho' not much more; they were called *Surlaube's* Brigade, and consisted of Five Batallions of Eight Companies to a Batallion, and Fifty Men to a Company; those were all the *French* Troops that were ever sent to *Ireland*; for which I appeal to the War-Office of *France*. For those Five Half Batallions, as I may call them, commanded by the Duke de *Laufun*, *Louis* the XIVth had Five compleat Regiments out of *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Mount-casbel*, some Time before the Battle of the *Boyne*: So that the *Irish* were considerable Losers by the Exchange, as we shall see immediately. What became of *Surlaube's* Brigade, particularly his own Regiment, I shall also shew in its proper Place; but I must first let you know, for the Honour of *France*, that they were not properly *French*, tho' called so, because in the Service of that Crown: Those Troops were mostly composed of *German* Deserters, *Walloon*s, *Flemings*, and Stragglers of other Nations; by their Behaviour, where-ever they passed in *Ireland*, they may be justly called the Scum and Refuse of their respective Countries.

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They were posted near an *English* Mile from the Place where the Heat of the Action hap- pen'd, and they had Ten fine Field Pieces; their Cannoneers were such wretched Fel- lows, that the *Irish* were forced to drive them from their Guns, and manage them themselves. *Surlaube's* own Regiment, as I was informed, by an *English* Gentleman, who had been a Cadet in it in *France*, was broke for running away at *Blenheim*, and that too at their Colonel's own Request, to punish them for their Cowardice. *Surlaube* himself was a *Swiss*, a good Officer, and a gallant Man; he was mortally wounded at *Blenheim*, and the dying Petition he sent to his Master was, to put that Mark of Infamy upon his Regiment, for abandoning him in the Day of Battle. Those were some of the boasted Auxiliaries sent to the Assistance of the *Irish*.

Now I shall consider what you so boldly advance, and, by the Magisterial Air with which you assert it, seem to stake your Reputation upon the Issue; but that I may not do you any Injury in wresting the Sense of your Words, I shall repeat them once more. " Infomuch (*you say*)
 " that it is universally granted, that King
 " *James* the Second could not have been
 " so easily drove out of *Ireland*, if he had
 " not depended too much upon the Courage
 " of the Natives, and refused those *French*
 " Troops

“ Troops which his Brother of *France* would
 “ have sent to his Assistance. It was to
 “ this that our Victory was so easy at the
 “ *Boyne*.” Good God ! Is it possible for
 any Gentleman, any honest Man to write
 in such a Manner ? I don’t blame you, Sir,
 for not being well informed ; it may be any
 Man’s Case ; but I cannot excuse you for
 writing in so positive a Style upon a Sub-
 ject of which, to say the most that can be
 said in your Favour, you are so entirely
 ignorant. If that Refusal was not made
 in *Ireland*, there is neither Language nor
 Sense in what you say, nor can many liv-
 ing tell what you mean by it ; since it is
 evident, that had the Offer you mention
 been made when the King was in *England*,
 as it certainly was, and his Majesty had
 accepted it, the Seat of War must have
 been there, of Course, and consequently,
 the Two Armies had never met at the
Boyne. If you were aware of this, and
 therefore purposely placed the Refusal where
 you have done, in Order to throw a Blind
 before your Readers, that the Generality
 of them might not see through the Malice
 and Dishonesty of the Assertion, give me
 leave to tell you, in plainer *English* than I
 thought I could prevail upon myself to write,
 that you are capable of saying any Thing.
 The Fact in Reality was thus. When the
Dutch were arming in Order to invade
England,

England, *Louis* the XIVth sent King *James* an Account of it, and, at the same Time, offer'd him a good Body of Troops from *France*, for his Security, which the King absolutely refused; I don't presume to assign the Reasons his Majesty had for that Refusal, but I take one of them to have been, because he would not burthen his Country with too many Foreigners. He had not then had any Opportunity of trying the Courage of the *Irish* at home, tho' I acknowledge he had been pretty well acquainted both with it and their Generosity to him and his Brother abroad; neither had any Enemy appeared as yet to give him Reasons to suppose, that his last Stake was to be laid upon the Behaviour and Fidelity of that Nation to him. It is to be presumed, from his Conduct, that he thought of nothing less than he did of that Point. He had a gallant Army of *English* Protestants, who, in any other Cause, would have sacrificed their Lives for him, and defended him against any Invader whatever; he infatuatedly thought they would abandon the Interest of their Religion so far as to do the same in supporting his Measures for introducing Popery: This was his great Mistake: And another of his Reasons, I suppose, for refusing the Offers of *Louis* the XIVth, whose Protection he was soon after obliged to sue for in Person. When he

he came to *France* his Brother *Louis* gave him a Generous and Friendly Reception, with large Promises of Assistance; and *Louvois* himself, who was then prime Minister, and, to do him Justice, a very extraordinary Man, was so sanguine and hearty in his Interest, that he made him the following Proposal, by way of Request. *Sire*, (says he to King *JAMES*) *if your Majesty will be pleased to make my Son Curtenveau General of the French Troops to be employed in Ireland, he shall be supplied with Men and Money, and every Thing; nothing shall be wanting; he shall have the best Lieutenant Generals and Officers in France, to advise and assist him: All that I humbly ask in Return, from your Majesty, is, that he may have the Glory of preserving that Kingdom for you.* This was certainly a very handsome Proposal in *Mr. de Louvois*; and I believe there was no Prince in the World, King *James* excepted, but what would have closed with it, had he been in the like Circumstances. But the King, unfortunately for himself and his Friends, but as fortunately for the Protestant Interest in *Europe*, was under a prior Engagement to *Monsieur de Lausun*, to whom he had promised the Command of those Troops; and he thought he could not, in Honour, recal his Promise. Some People, particularly the *Irish*, because they were the greatest, and, indeed, the only Sufferers, at

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that Time, by it, have highly blamed the King for this Step : But whether he acted prudently or not, as his Affairs stood, at that Time, his very Enemies must allow, that it shew'd a great Soul in him, to preserve so inviolable a Regard to his Word, when he saw it tend so visibly to his Destruction. Pray, Sir, do you call this refusing the Offers of his Brother of *France*, because he depended too much upon the Courage of the *Irish* ? If you do so, you are certainly a great *Logician*. I have related the Fact fairly, and every Man may judge what he pleases of it. From that very Moment his Interest went to Wreck in the *French* Court. *Louvois* not only grew cold to him, but became secretly his Enemy ; and, by what I am going to relate, you may judge how likely that poor Prince was to be well supplied, either with Men or Money, or any thing else. His Majesty, very soon after, found himself in exceeding Streights for want of Money, and sent a Person of great Distinction, to desire the Minister to let him have the Quarter's Pension, then running on ; but the disgusted, and, in this Respect, I may say, the inhuman *Louvois* made this brutish Answer, *Go tell your Master, that the Quarter is not yet expired.* This you will surely allow was very harsh and rude to a once Great, but then unfortunate King. But what is it that a Minister

nister cannot do, either in an absolute Government, or even in such where his Master thinks every thing he does is well done. To make this Matter a little clearer to you, King *James*, after the Loss of his Crown, was forced to become a Pensioner to *France*, for Subsistence; and *Louis* the XIVth settled Six Hundred Thousand Livres a Year upon him. The generous Monarch himself thought it too small a Sum to answer the distressed King's Necessities, and those of his Followers, and therefore would have made it a Million; but King *James* could not be prevailed upon, either by *Louis* or his own Friends, to accept so much, and, at last, plainly told them, that his Conscience would not permit him to contract One Penny of Debt more than was absolutely necessary to support him; or to contribute, in any Respect, to the increasing an Expence which must fall upon his Subjects at his Restoration. Surprizing Love to a People who were then actually in Arms against him! His usual Expression, when in *England*, was, that his Heart was entirely *English*: This is a most illustrious Proof that it was truly so; and I don't believe, all Circumstances considered, that any History can produce an Example of so exalted a Virtue. Tho' indigent and distressed, tho' surrounded with Calamities and Misfortunes on every Side, he could not think of softening them

in any Degree, by such Means as he apprehended might bring a future Incumbrance upon his Country. He had the Queen, the Chevalier, and, soon after, a Daughter, besides a Crowd of ruined Friends, to provide for; yet he thought Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year enough to supply all Wants, and even too much to burthen *England* with. In the Behaviour of King *James*, upon this Occasion, all Princes who are desirous of living in the Esteem of Mankind, and dying in the Favour of God, may find several Things worthy of Imitation. Here is OEconomy and good Husbandry laid before them: Here is true Heroism, and true Christianity; not only in pardoning and loving his Enemies, but in studying and seeking their Interest and Advantage, to the Detriment of his own. What a glorious great King would he not have made! what a Blessing! what a Happiness! with such a Fund of Goodness and paternal Affection for his Subjects, would he not have been to Three Kingdoms, if the Byass he took, in the debated Points of Religion, had not put him upon Measures which lost him their Hearts, and brought him to that low Condition in which he found himself at the *Boyne*! I have been more particular in that Affair, and the King's Refusal of Offers of Assistance from *France*, than, I believe the Subject strictly required,

required, because they are Two Points in which you assume a great deal of Triumph, but with how much Reason, the World may judge.

After the Action of the *Boyne*, K. James made no Stay at *Dublin*, but went directly to *Munster*, where he took Shipping for *France* in July 1690. The *Irish*, in the mean time, marched on leisurely to *Limerick*, without being pursued. Of *Surlaube's* Brigade, several Hundreds took again to their old Trade of Desertion after the Battle, and the rest were immediately sent away to *Galway*, and there shipp'd off for the Country from whence they came. A few *French* Officers indeed, perhaps Fifty or Sixty, staid among the *Irish*, as Majors and Adjutants to exercise and discipline the Men, as did also Brigadier *Boisjean*, and those were all the *French* that remained in *Ireland*. As to *St. Ruth*, he was sent over from *France* the Year following, to command the *Irish*, but without any *French* Troops with him; and Major General *Tesse*, Brother to the Mareschal of that Name, with Major General *Duffon*, were sent by *Louvois*, as a sort of Observators upon his Conduct.

The next Thing we have to do, is to see how these pusillanimous, cowardly *Irishmen*, as you stile them, behaved themselves (after killing the Great *Schomberg* at the *Boyne*) without any Mixture of *French* Troops, against

against K. *William* in Person, and his victorious Army of Veterans, before *Limerick*.

Lausun was already gone to *France*; for when he went to *Limerick*, and took a View of the Fortifications, he swore by G-d, that his Master would take it with roasted Apples (*avec des pommes cuites*) and wrote to *Louis* the XIVth to withdraw his Men, if he had not a Mind to lose them, which, as I have already observed, was done accordingly. This was the Man for whom King *James* made *Louvois* his Enemy. And here it is proper to remark, that the *Irish* were so far from being assisted with *French* Troops, that they had no Equivalent of Men for the Five *Irish* Regiments sent into *France* under *Mont-cassel*; the want of which Regiments prov'd a great Damage to the *Irish*, and hasten'd the Loss of their Country. Had such an additional Strength been at *Limerick* in the first Siege, King *William's* Army, in all Probability, had been entirely ruined; since, as it happen'd, it came off but little better, as I am going to shew you.

Boisjean, and four *Irish* Brigadiers, as Assistants to him, have the Defence of the Place committed to them. In the mean time, King *William* pushed on the Siege with such Skill and Vigour, that a Breach was made capable of receiving Forty Men a-breast, and so practicable by the Easiness of the Ascent, that a Coach might drive a
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full Gallop into the Town. The *English* then have Orders to storm, which they do with irresistible Fury, and their usual Intrepidity. The Dispute is bloody, and the Breach obstinately defended by the *Irish*, who then gave Proofs, that they are not always infamous for Cowardice, when they fight against *Englishmen*. But however brave they are, the *English* gain Part of the Ramparts, in spite of all their Resistance, and at last force into the Town it self Sword in Hand, where the *Irish* fight no longer in Defence of *Limerick*, but for their Lives and Fortunes, and every thing that was dear to them: Death sets up his Standard, and a new Carnage begins. Fortune changes Sides; the *English* are pushed back to the Ramparts; they are drove from thence into their Trenches, or tumbled over the Curtain; they are drove out of their Trenches also, and those who were to sustain them, beaten back to the Body of their own Army. That Day may well be called a Day of Blood and Slaughter, in which the *Irish* suffer'd severely, and King *William* lost above Six Thousand Men. His Majesty had the Mortification to see all this, but neither Threats nor Entreaties could prevail upon his Men to renew the Assault. Now, Sir, if the *Irish* were naturally and really Cowards, as you describe them to be, what became of the Honour of the *English* and King

King *William* that Day? I hope you will not deny that the Town was storm'd, and the King's Troops beaten off and pursued. It is a Fact too well known to be concealed, otherwise I would not have mentioned it here; no, not even to gain the Argument against you, tho' I had no other Circumstance of the Bravery of the *Irish* to produce. What Excuse can you make for the Loss of the Train coming to King *William* from *Dublin*? What Name will you give to the Action of *Sarsfield*, when he defeated their Convoy, burst the Guns, and destroy'd all the Provisions and warlike Stores for the *English* Army, and that too within Six or Seven Miles of their Camp? What do you think of his fine Retreat back to *Limerick*, in spite of all the Parties that were sent to intercept him, upon the Noise the heavy Artillery made in bursting? Were these the Actions of Cowards, or of Soldiers? Or, were King *William* and his Army playing Booty at that time?

Whatever the Matter was, the Loss of the Train, seconded by the Resolution and Activity of the *Irish*, obliged his Majesty to raise the Siege. This was done with such Precipitation and Confusion, that his Hospital, in which were Fifteen Hundred Sick and Wounded, took Fire, and all those poor Creatures perished in the Flames. The *Irish* endeavoured to save them; but the Hospi-

Hospital being all Timber-work and Deal Boards, it burned too furiously to admit of any Relief. Some say that this Misfortune was meerly accidental, as I hope it was; others have reported, but, perhaps, as maliciously as you write, that the Hospital was fired with Design, to prevent the *Irish* from being encouraged, by the Number of the Sick and Wounded in it, to follow the King's Army, and cut off his Rear. But, whether it was so or not, One of these Two Things you must grant me; either the *Irish* had Courage, and fought well, or else King *William* was not so gallant and so consummate a General, nor his Troops such brave Fellows as the World esteemed them to be; since they were constrained to raise the Siege, and leave their Enemy Master of the Field, the rest of the Campaign, tho' in no Condition, for want of Necessaries and Money, to make an offensive War. *Utrum horum mavis accipe.* I might have concluded the Affairs of *Ireland*, of which I am not writing a History, but an Answer to your injudicious Reflections; but since you have been so copious upon the Battle of *Aghrim*, I shall also follow you thither.

As you allow, that we owe our Victory there to the accidental Death of Mr. *St. Ruth*, I shall prove, from your own Words, that either the *Irish* fought gallantly, that Day, or else, that the *English* fought but very

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indifferently; for, instead of *Ten Thousand Frenchmen*, which you most ignorantly assure us were at *Aghrim*; there was not, at that Time, one Batallion, Troop, or Company of *French* in all the *Irish* Army, for which I appeal again to the War-Office of *France*. As your Honour now lies at Stake, you (as you have certainly Interest enough to do) ought to procure, from the *French* Court, a List or Certificate of their Troops, if there were any there: I challenge you to produce such an one (within a Month after the Publication of this Letter) Signed by the Secretary at War in *France*, and specifying the Regiments, whether Horse, Foot, or Dragoons, the Colonels Names, the Number of Troops or Companies in each Regiment, and the Number of Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers, and private Men in each Troop or Company of *French* in *Ireland*, either at the first Siege of *Limerick*, in the Year 1690, or at the Battle of *Aghrim*, in the Year 1691. You see, Sir, that I put this Point to a very short Issue between us, *France* will reap too much Honour by it to refuse you such a Certificate, but she has also too much Honour to grant you a false one. It is not above Two Hours Work for an ordinary Clerk, to look over the Books in the Office, and write out the List; wherefore you ought to think your self obliged to me, for putting you in the Way to convince

vince *Britons* that you can prove One of the many Things you have asserted, with so much Confidence, against the *Irish*; but let me advise you, in the mean Time, to take Care that there be no Forgery in the Case; if you dabble that Way, I shall certainly detect and expose you. Until you produce this Certificate, and rally your Ten Thousand *Frenchmen* to your Succour, I presume that every Man in *Britain* will allow me to be in Possession of the Argument, and think I am in the Right when I positively affirm, that it was an *entire, unmixed* Body of *Irish* that fought us at *Aghrim*, tho' under the Command of a *French* General, as our Army was commanded by a *Dutch* one; and, without the Interposition of Providence, would have overthrown, in one Day, the Work of Five Hundred Years; and destroyed the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, which had cost so many Hundred Thousand Lives, and so immense a Treasure, to bring it to the Condition it then was in. But tho' they behaved themselves so well in that Battle, they were but in very indifferent Circumstances to do so. They were half starved for want of Provisions, through the Ravage both Armies had made in that Part of the Kingdom the Year before. On the other Hand, our Army was supplied with Provisions from *Leinster* and *Ulster*. The *Irish* were also ill-paid, and worse clad:

Louvois was their Enemy, for the Reasons I have already mentioned : King *James's* Brass Money was quite discredited, even among the *Irish* themselves, and Coin came very sparingly from *France*. *St. Ruth* himself was so sensible of the Disadvantages his Army labour'd under, that he gave Battle in a sort of Despair ; for he had not heard that his great Enemy, *Louvois*, was dead, thirteen Days before. His Despair proceeded from what I am going to tell you.

When he lay encamp'd on the *Connaught* Side of the *Shannon*, one of the greatest Rivers in the three Kingdoms, General *Genkle*, who commanded the *English* Army, march'd to besiege *Athlone* in the Centre of *Ireland*, of which he was afterwards made Earl by King *William*, for his gallant Services in that Kingdom. *Athlone* may properly be called two Towns, join'd by a Bridge over the *Shannon*, one in *Leinster*, and the other in *Connaught*. *Genkle* made himself Master of the *Leinster* Side, called, as I have been informed, the *English Town*, which was but slightly fortified, and, in a manner, neglected by the *Irish* ; but the other held out, and would have baffled him too, notwithstanding all his Bravery, if *St. Ruth* had followed *Tyrconnel's* Advice, which was unanimously backed by all the *Irish* General Officers : It was to throw down all the Fortifications between the Town and their own

own Army, that, in Case the *English* should force in, the *Irish* might have that Side open to relieve the Town, and drive them out again. The *French* General was deaf to this Advice, and look'd upon them to be a Parcel of Madmen, to talk of demolishing their own Fortifications. As the Bridge was broken down, he thought it absolutely impossible for the *English* to pass such a River as the *Shannon*, where no Ford had ever been discover'd, and could never be persuaded to let more than Five Regiments lye in the Town. It seems, he knew the *English* as little as you do the *Irish*. In the mean time, *Genkle*, who, to the Honour of *Holland*, was a *Dutchman*, and an experienc'd Soldier, found a Ford, which the *English* pass'd in the Evening, and attacked the Town in a Place, where the River had been thought a sufficient Fortification. Thus *St. Ruth*, who was sent from *France* to command the *Irish*, lost their Country for them, by depending too much upon himself, and too little upon the Natives. He was so sensible of his Error, when he saw it, tho' too late; so dejected at the Misfortune he had brought upon the *Irish* by his Obstinacy, and so afraid of *Louvois*, who was his mortal Enemy, and who he knew would not fail to make a Handle of it to ruine him with his Master, that he resolved either to repair his Fault in a few Days, or dye in the Attempt.

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The latter he gallantly did at *Aghrim*, but would have effected the other, had he outliv'd that Battle, which was fought in *July 1691*, and followed by the Siege and Reduction of *Limerick*, and indeed of all *Ireland*.

At *Limerick* there was Brandy enough, but very little Bread: That Town was then the common Refuge of the Unfortunate, and the vast Concourse of useless Mouths exposed the Place to the Danger and Dread of a Famine. Wherefore, the *Irish* seeing themselves abandon'd on all Sides, and having no Hopes of Assistance from *France*, or holding out against the united Power of *England* and *Scotland*, strengthened by the Possession of a great Part of *Ireland* it self, they thought it more prudent to save a Part, than desperately venture any longer the Loss of the Whole. They made Articles with *Genkle* at *Limerick*, rather like Victors, than Men who had not Courage to defend themselves. All *Europe* has heard of the Noise the Parliament of *England* made about those Articles, and the Alterations they thought fit to make in them.

Now, Sir, let me shew you, of what Importance the Preservation of *Ireland* for King *James* would have been to *France*, and of what Consequence the putting an End to the War there was to *England*. The *Irish*, by those two remarkable Campaigns I have mention'd, kept at least Forty Thousand

sand brave Troops in Play, most of whom
 would have been employed in *Flanders*
 against *Louis XIV.* as they afterwards were,
 through *Louvois's* Resentment against King
James. The *Dutch Gazette* took Notice
 about that time, that the Affairs of *Europe*
 seem'd to be in a sort of *Equilibrium*, but
 that the Fate of a certain Island would soon
 determine to which Side the Scale was like-
 ly to turn. That certain Island was *Ireland*,
 to which if *Louvois* had sent the Ten Thou-
 sand *Frenchmen* you mention, as any Mini-
 ster would have done, that did not prefer
 the Gratification of his own private Revenge
 to the publick Service of his Country, and
 the Interest and Glory of his Master; the
Irish, with their Assistance, and necessary
 warlike Stores, would have kept *Ireland* for
K. James, in spite of all Attempts to wrest
 it from him, and *K. William* never could
 have been in any tolerable Condition to
 make Head against the *French* in *Flanders*.
 The Flame, in all Probability, would have
 spread again into *Scotland*, and might per-
 haps have scorched *England* itself. What
 the Consequence of all this would have been,
Europe knows perfectly well; and I believe
France is very sensible too, how little she
 owes, on that score, to the Memory of
Louvois, who, tho' a very great Man in eve-
 ry other Part of his Administration, by this
 wilful Neglect of his Duty, may be justly
 said

said to be the Source of all those Calamities and Misfortunes which have since fallen upon *France*, and to which the Great *Louis* the XIVth was expos'd in the latter Part of his Reign.

I believe what I have said is sufficient to convince every body, even Mr. *Walsingham* himself, that the *Irish* have not deserved the Reflections cast upon them in the *Free Briton*. I shall now add a Word or two in behalf of their Generosity, as well as their Fidelity to a Cause, which the Principles of Education taught them to look upon as a very just one. In doing so, I shall not lead you so far back as the Exile of K. *Charles II.* when most of the *Irish* Officers then in Service abroad allowed him a good Part of their Pay towards his Subsistence, but confine myself entirely to the last War in *Ireland*.

After the Battle of the *Boyne*, K. *William* sent to *Tyrconnel*, who still remained Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* for King *James*, after that Prince's Departure for *France*, with Offers to the *Irish* of all their Estates as they stood before the Revolution; the free Exercise of their Religion; the Capacity of entering into Civil Employments, with several other Advantages, among which, as I have been positively assured, was that of having half the Garrisons in the Kingdom for their Security, and the Performance of Articles. The Duke, whose Thoughts, to do

do his Memory Justice, were turned to Peace, and the Safety of his Countrymen, when he found King *James's* Way of Thinking, and saw the Behaviour of *Louvois*, look'd upon King *William's* Offers to be too generous, and too good to be refused, he communicated them to the *Irish* Chiefs, and pressed the Acceptance of them in the most earnest manner; but they were universally rejected by those infatuated Men, and *Tyrconnel* himself was in no small Danger of his Life, for proposing them. After the first Siege of *Limerick*, the King, who knew of what mighty Importance the quieting of the *Irish* was to the common Cause, and how much they retarded the Designs of the Allies in *Flanders*, made the same, or rather more advantageous Offers to the Duke, and the Duke ventured to propose them a second time to his Countrymen, but with as little Success: They were stiffly opposed by the Earl of *Lucan*, the Lord *Kilmallock*, another Branch of the Family of *Sarsfield*, Baron *Purcel*, the Colonels *O Neil*, *O Carrol*, *O Connel*, and several Persons of great Account among the *Irish*. Can you then, without blushing, ask what Service the *Irish* ever did for King *James* or the *Pretender*? Was it no Service to continue firm to him when *England* and *Scotland* had given their Crowns to another Prince? Was it no Service to his Cause? Was it no Advantage to

his Ally, *Louis* the XIVth, to keep *England* embarrassed three Years? Some People think that the Battle of *Fleurus* was but a drawn one; and that if the Troops which were employed with King *William* in *Ireland* in the Year 1690, had been at that Battle, as they might have been, if the *Irish* had not made a Diversion, by continuing in Arms for King *James*, the Victory would, probably, have followed the Standards of the Allies. You may, perhaps, retort upon me, that most of them were afterwards at the Battle of *Landen*, which we also lost to the *French*; but, before you do so, take a little Time to consider, that *Louis* the XIVth had almost as many *Irish*, by the Capitulation of *Limerick*, to ballance them; not one of whom either would or could have gone into his Service, had they accepted King *William's* first or second Offer. Whether the *Irish* abroad are still attached to the *Chevalier* by Inclination, which you seem to question, is not the Point. As the Case stands, they are attached to him, by a much stronger Motive than that of Inclination, according to the modern Morality; they are attached to him by Interest, since they expect that his Establishment in *England*, or even in *Ireland*, would restore them to their Estates, and those Advantages they possess'd when King *James* the Second came to the Crown. If Interest, as I presume it does,

makes

makes you write, and throw out your Reflections at Random, as you do; if it has Influence enough over you to make you hazard your Reputation, to expose your self to be censured as a bare-faced Fibber, and a Deceiver of the Publick; it may, possibly, have as powerful an Effect upon unhappy Gentlemen, who, by the Loss of plentiful Fortunes at home, have nothing left them but their Swords, to procure a scanty, painful Maintenance abroad. Their inflexible Steadiness to the Interest of an unfortunate and declining King, whom they looked upon to be their lawful Sovereign, notwithstanding our Acts of Parliament to the contrary; their Refusal of those advantageous Terms which King *William* so generously offer'd them; their exposing themselves to inexpressible Hardships, to perpetual Dangers, and even to Death it self, rather than acknowledge any other Prince than King *James*, at least, while any further Resistance in his Favour was practicable, first gained them that Esteem in *France*, which their Behaviour ever since has preserved for them, even to this Day. Nor has the *British* Ministry seem'd, at any Time, to have a lower Notion of them than the *French* have all along had. What you offer, by way of Reflection upon them, rather justifies my Assertion, than makes, in any Respect, for your Purpose. Our Ministers never thought

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that

that they wanted either Courage or Affection for the *Chevalier* ; they rather knew, that they had more of both than was consistent with the Interest of the Protestant Succession ; and it was for this Reason, and not for any Cowardice in the *Irish*, as you say, with your usual Politeness and Veracity, that, towards the End of the War, our Regiments had Orders not to recruit in *Ireland*. It was not only a common Thing to recruit there before, but even entire Regiments were raised in that Kingdom, of which I can name several, until the Experience we had of their frequent Desertions to the *French* and *Spaniards*, shew'd us, that to list Men in *Ireland*, was only to recruit for the *Irish* Troops in the Service of *France* and *Spain*, and, consequently, to raise Forces, at that Time, for the *Chevalier* : It demonstrated where their Inclinations lay, and makes point blank against your Argument. I can also name a Regiment or two, or, perhaps, more, in *Flanders*, in the Year 1708, which we generally call the Campaign of *Lisle*, that lost considerably by Desertion ; one of them no less than One Hundred and Thirty Men, as well as I can remember : They all went off to the *Irish*, and fought against us at *Malplaquet*. They were esteemed brave Fellows in our Regiments, and I can hardly think, that changing Sides abated any thing of their Courage.

To be accounted brave by a Nation, which, in a Series of Five Hundred Years War with *England*, some little Intervals excepted, has given Proofs of the utmost Bravery that Men are capable of, is a Commendation in itself above the Reach of any Pen; and mine, indifferent as it is, had never been employed again upon this Subject, had you not forced me to appear in my own Vindication. I have told you in the Beginning of this Letter, that I have formerly took Notice in Print of the courageous and gallant Behaviour of the *Irish* abroad; in direct Contradiction to what I have said of them, you call them infamous Cowards, and what not. This base Proceeding in you, which cannot be paralleled in any polite Nation, is, in some measure, to give me the Lie, at a Time, when the Circumstances in which I stand with the Ministry, and my Absence from *Britain*, put it entirely out of my Power to return it in any other manner. I assure you, Mr. *Walsingham*, that I am no way concerned for the Honour or Character of the *Irish* Troops: I am very indifferent whether they are brave or not, further than as the Use that is, or may be made of them, may affect the Safety of the Protestant Succession, or disturb the Repose of *Great Britain*. It is publickly, and even but too notoriously known both in *London* and *Paris*, that the *Irish* Officers

Officers are not my Friends, neither does any Man look upon me to be theirs. I have had no Commerce or Conversation with them these nine Years past, nor do I ever propose or design to have any. These are the Terms on which I stand with them at present, particularly with one of the greatest of their Generals, and I presume you are no Stranger to the Cause of our Quarrel. But tho' we are Enemies, I know what it is to be a generous and a fair one; I know the Duties of a Gentleman and a Christian, both which teach me to have a strict Regard to Truth and Justice, when the Situation of Affairs, or the Service of my Country, call upon me to meddle with any Persons Characters in publick. Had you done so, Sir, when you made those Gentlemen the Subject of your Paper, you would have saved me the Pains of writing so long a Letter, and gained Applause to your self, (the constant Reward of Impartiality and Sincerity) instead of the just and open Reproof which I now give you, and which I shall still continue a little further, by exposing a nice Piece of your *Leger de main*, in that Paragraph of yours relating to the Affair of *Aghrim*. To this Purpose, I must make another Repetition of your own Words.

“ But when that Prince (*you say*) speaking of King *James*) “ was convinced of
 “ his

“ his Error, and found there was no De-
 “ pendence upon an entire unmixed Body
 “ of *Irish*, by the sending over Ten Thou-
 “ sand *Frenchmen* under the Command of
 “ Mr. *St. Ruth*, he made so gallant an
 “ Opposition to the *English* Army at the
 “ Battle of *Aghrim*, that dispassionate Men
 “ have thought we owed our Victory to the
 “ accidental Death of that General.” This
 I have already shewn to be a great Pane-
 gyrick upon the *Irish*, in spite of your De-
 sign to slander them, because there were no
French Troops at that Battle: And now I
 appeal to any Man who has any Notion of
 Stile, nay, I even appeal to your self, whe-
 ther the Generality of your Readers will
 not be apt to understand by this Passage,
 that King *James* was in Person at *Aghrim*?
 Or, whether the Sense, in the most favour-
 able Construction, is not equivocal. If you
 thought the King was there, you was not
 qualified to write upon this Subject; but if
 you really know that his Majesty was not
 then in *Ireland*, but, as I have already prov-
 ed, had taken his Leave of that Kingdom,
 at least Eleven Months before, and that it
 was *St. Ruth* that commanded alone, and
 made so gallant an Opposition to the *Eng-
 lish* Army, you most ungenerously prevari-
 cate, and wilfully write bad *English* to im-
 pose upon the People of *England*. Had you
 meant fairly, your Words would have run
 thus:

thus: *But when that Prince was convinced of his Error, and found there was no Dependence upon an entire unmixed Body of Irish, he sent over Mr. St. Ruth, with Ten Thousand Frenchmen, who made so gallant an Opposition to the English Army, &c.* In doing so, you would have acted like a candid honest Man, and left no Equivocation in the Sense, provided always that the *Ten Thousand Frenchmen* had been there. This poor little Artifice in you, to surprize your Readers, and gain them to your Side, shews plainly what sort of Man you are, and the Spirit and Design with which you write.

I shall now examine your Reflections upon the *Irish* in another Light; but I must first take Notice of an Assertion in your Postscript, namely “ that after the Abdication of the other, (King *James II.*) they “ ruined his Cause, and lost him the Kingdom of *Ireland.*” What you say here is at least as ridiculous as unjust, and deserves rather to be passed over with Contempt, than to have any Notice taken of it, except King *William* intended to make a Present of that Kingdom to King *James*. When you prove that, I’ll give you up the Argument; till then I shall state the Case thus. If the *Irish* had remained quiet after King *James’s* Abdication, and had submitted to King *William*, as *England* did, and as Mr. *Temple* assured his Majesty *Tyrconnel* was inclined

inclined to do, this Charge had never been brought against them: His Majesty would have taken as easy and as quiet a Possession of the one Kingdom, as he had done of the other; King *James* could not have given him the least Opposition in doing so. *Ireland* was lost of Course, for King *James*, by his Abdication, and Retreat into *France*; and happy had it been for the *Irish*, if they had let it remain so: But their evil Genius hurried them on to their Destruction. They were deaf to good Advice; they slighted all K. *William's* generous Offers; they fought at *Agbrim* and *Limerick* rather like Furies than Men. They unanimously and chearfully exposed their Lives, Fortunes, Families, and every thing, without Reserve, for King *James*: They held out as long as possible, even to the Surprize of King *William* and all the World, after King *James* and *France* had in a manner abandoned them. In the first Siege of *Limerick*, they outdid the *Saguntines* themselves in Bravery and Resolution, in as much as they kept the Town, and drove away an Army much superior to *Hannibal's* in Courage and Discipline. Can they then with any Colour of Justice, good Sense, or common Honesty, be accused of ruining King *James's* Cause, and losing him the Kingdom of *Ireland*? For shame, Mr. *Walsingham*, think better of what you say for the future. I have

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shewn how *Ireland* came to be lost for King *James*, and who were the Cause of losing it; the King himself by his own Infatuation; *Louvois*, by his Spleen to King *James*, for refusing his Son *Curtenveau*, and *St. Ruth*, by his Mistake at *Athlone*, and Disregard of the good Advice given him: These were the joint Causes of the Reduction of *Ireland*, and I hope my Readers are satisfied with the Account I have given of that Affair.

Hitherto I have only shewn how much you have wrong'd the Roman-Catholick Part of the *Irish*; but now let me ask you very seriously, what Reparation you propose to make to the Protestant Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland*, for the Stab you have given to the Honour of their Country? After having rung the Changes round, and with all the Verbosity peculiar to you, given full Swing to your Malice against *Ireland*, and every Man born in it, you leave an Idea with your Readers, if they think you worth Notice, that the *Irish* in general, *New* and *Old*, *Protestant* and *Papist*, are all a promiscuous Pack of rank, arrant Cowards. It is in vain to endeavour to shelter your self under the silly Evasion, that you meant none but the old Race, and of those too none but Papists. Were it even so, it would be unjust and absurd. Papists fight as well as Protestants, and so *vice versa*; but your Reflections seem to imply,
that

that Cowardise is a natural Effect of the Air and Climate of *Ireland*. It is even a Crime with you to be an *Irishman*, and every one that reads your Paper, must have this Notion of it. To confirm us in it, you tell us, that being born in *Ireland* makes a Man odious and obnoxious to *Britons*. Such are the Means by which you endeavour to render some of the best Subjects, and bravest Men in his Majesty's Dominions hated and abhorr'd in *Britain*, and despised by all our Allies.

I have often heard it said, that more than a third of the Officers with the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Flanders*, were *Irish*; there are also several *Irishmen* of Distinction in our Fleet at present; was no Decency then to be preserved towards them? Was no Regard to be had to the heroick Actions, and illustrious Memory of the great *Cadogan*? Could you not have said something to except an Earl, who so lately Commanded the Army of *Great Britain*, out of the Crowd of Cowards of your own creating? Could not the Defeat of the *Spanish* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and other great Services perform'd for *Britain*, by the present Lord *Torrington*, prevail upon you to give Quarter to the Name of *Byng*? If not, I don't wonder that you have not spared the *Ingoldsbies*, the *Palmer's*, the *Armstrongs*, the *Kanes*, the *Claytons*, and a Multitude of other brave

Officers of that Nation, both of the old and new Race, who have distinguished themselves in the Service of *Great Britain*, by Sea and Land, and whose Pardon I beg for not naming them here, because it would not only swell my Letter too much to do so, but take up more Time than I can well spare; tho' I will venture to mention that unfortunate Gentleman, the late Duke of *Ormond*, and I don't think that I shall either offend his Majesty, or subject my self to the Censure of any Man of Honour, or brave Soldier, by naming him. He is an *Irishman*, if there is any such Thing in the World; He has been Captain General of *Britain*; and the greatest of his Enemies will allow, that, as to personal Bravery, *Cæsar* or *Alexander* never had more.

Let me once more ask you seriously what you intended, by falling, as you have done, upon the *Irish*? Did you mean by this Stragem of Defamation, to light up a Flame in the Two Kingdoms, and put *Irishmen* upon seeking after Occasions to convince the World, that they dare fight *Englishmen*? Did you intend to take this Opportunity of making more Friends for the *Chevalier*, by uniting the *Protestants* and *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland*, against your Country, in the common Cause of defending their Honour? Or had you any other under-hand Design in this Proceeding, which you don't think safe to own?

own?—But I say no more—There are People at the Court End of the Town more concern'd to take Notice of it than I am.

Here I stop, because I reserve the Recruiting Affair, as well as what you think the political Part of your Paper, for another Letter, in Case you oblige me to continue the Dispute with you. If you do so, and dare put your true Name to what you publish, you shall always find me ready to engage you, notwithstanding the Helps you have, and the Disadvantages I labour under. I promise you further, not to glance at any Gentleman in the Administration, directly or indirectly; and this Promise, so publicly made, I hope will be sufficient to procure me Liberty to answer you, as often as you appear upon this Subject: If I do not, *Britons* may be assured that the Fault does not lye at my Door. When you consider the Fate of the *Ostend Company*, you will not find me an Antagonist altogether below your Notice; I have the Honour to be the first *Briton* that wrote against it; the Ministry approved my Notions, and did not disdain to make them their Guide. I shall therefore shew them, as soon as I have Leisure, and, perhaps, before the Parliament breaks up, that the Damage which *Britain* receives, by the present Encroachments upon her Commerce, and the unfriendly Practices of One of her Allies, in Point of Trade,

Trade, call loudly for her Attention. In the mean Time, I wait for your Reply concerning the *Irish*, and am,

S I R,

Your Most Humble Servant,

Charles Forman.

P. S. I think it necessary to join to this Letter, Part of the Character of the *Irish*, as I find it copied from a very celebrated *English* Author, by Mr. *Miege*, in his *Present State of Great Britain*, printed in the Year 1714. “ They are of a middle
 “ Stature, strong of Body, of an hotter
 “ and moister Nature than many other
 “ Nations, of wonderful soft Skins, and,
 “ by Reason of the Tenderness of their
 “ Muscles, they excell in Nimbleness, and
 “ the Flexibility of all Parts of their Body;
 “ they are reckoned of a quick Wit, *prodigal*
 “ of their Lives, enduring Travel, Cold
 “ and Hunger, given to fleshly Lusts, light
 “ of Belief, kind and courteous to Strangers,
 “ constant in Love, impatient of Abuse and
 “ Injury, in Enmity implacable, and in all
 “ Affections most vehement and passionate.”
 Allowances being made for the Infirmities
 of

of human Nature, this Character is no disadvantageous one. Their Vices are common, in some Degree or other, to all Nations; and I believe there are very few that surpass them in their Virtues. According to this Account of them, they must be faithful Friends, but most dangerous Enemies, and seem to be furnished, by Nature, with all the Qualities required in a Soldier; from whence I conclude, that you are certainly very brave your self in venturing to abuse them so *mal-a-propos*. As they are reckon'd of a quick Wit, some of them have made as great a Figure in Letters, and all the Parts of divine and human Learning, as their Countrymen have done in Arms, amidst the Terrors of War. Primate *Usher*, Mr. *Molyneux*, who wrote *The Case of Ireland*, Mr. *Dodwell*, Mr. *Congreve*, Sir *Rich. Steele*, and the present *Dean Swift*, whose Pen, and not so poor an one as mine, ought to have been employ'd upon this Subject, will remain standing Monuments to Posterity of the Proof of this Assertion.

F I N I S.